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I. Butsky

**POLITICAL WORK
IN THE SOVIET
ARMY**

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Prof. Stephen Clarkson

I. Butsky

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**Political work
in the Soviet
Army**

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I. THE SOVIET ARMY AS A DEFENDER OF THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE

The character of any army is inseparable from the political organisation of the society and the class essence of the state. The army is a reflection of the state system. The features of the state system decisively affect an army's purpose and character.

The Soviet Union is a socialist state of the whole people. It has no exploiting classes. Policies of militarism, conquest and domination over other countries are alien to the economic and social system of the socialist state.

From the point of view of internal conditions, the Soviet Union does not need an army. But insofar as a military threat emanates from aggressive forces in the imperialist states, the Soviet state is compelled to maintain its armed forces and to manufacture modern weapons.

The basic purpose of the Soviet Armed Forces is to safeguard the nation's socialist gains and ensure the total defeat of any imperialist aggressor encroaching on the Soviet Union or any other country of the socialist camp. The Soviet

Armed Forces are one of the principal factors of world peace.

The Soviet Army is an army of a new type. In class character, purpose and education it differs radically from the armies of imperialist powers. It is a genuinely people's army, inseparable from the people. It expresses and safeguards their vital interests.

All members of the Soviet Armed Forces, from rank and file to marshal, are of the working people. This makes for the internal cohesion of the Soviet Army and the mutual understanding and respect which govern relations between soldiers of all grades and ranks.

The Soviet Army is a multinational organisation based on the principles of equality and friendship among all Soviet peoples. It is a staunch protector of the interests of all people, irrespective of nationality, and, reciprocally, it enjoys their complete confidence and support.

The Soviet Armed Forces are imbued with a spirit of socialist internationalism and they carry out their duties in close military co-operation with the armies of other socialist countries.

The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) declares that the Soviet Union sees it as its internationalist duty to guarantee, together with the other socialist countries, the reliable defence and security of the entire socialist camp. The Soviet Armed Forces and the armies of the other socialist states are always ready to come to the assistance of each other in

case of a military attack or imperialist provocations.

Soviet Army men are educated in a spirit of respect for the working people of the world, in a spirit of fraternal sympathy for the peoples fighting for social and national liberation.

The Leninist Communist Party is the organiser, leader and educator of the Soviet Armed Forces. It defines their tasks, lays down the principles of their organisation and plans their development. It consistently enhances its influence on all aspects of army life.

Army development plans are carried out by the government and the Ministry of Defence in complete accord with the policies of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

In conditions when the imperialist threat of war continues to exist, the Party holds that the Soviet Armed Forces must be organised on the principle of a regular army. Recruitment to the army is carried out by conscription. Service in the armed forces and defence of the country is a sacred obligation and honourable duty of citizens of the U.S.S.R.

The Party holds that the organisational structure of the armed forces must correspond to the requirements of modern warfare. This includes a well-defined system of centralised command and division into armed services and arms. The main armed service is the Strategic Rocket Forces. The other armed services are: the Land Forces, the Air Defence Forces, the Air Force, and the Navy. For

purposes of troop control, the territory of the Soviet Union is divided into military administrative units called Military Districts. The Navy is divided into Fleets and Flotillas.

The correct policies of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in military technology, coupled with the advances of Soviet industry and the outstanding achievements of Soviet science and engineering, have resulted in a virtual revolution in military affairs. It is seen first and foremost in the establishment of a qualitatively new material and technical armament base. As a result, the Soviet Army possesses powerful modern means of war, such as atomic and thermonuclear weapons, rockets of all classes, supersonic jet aircraft and nuclear submarines, which are in permanent combat readiness.

A modern Soviet military doctrine has been evolved and new principles of warfare have been defined. Manuals and regulations take into account the nature and specific features of modern warfare. The Soviet Armed Forces have mastered the latest rocket and nuclear equipment.

The decisive role in ensuring the permanent combat readiness of the Soviet Army belongs to the unit commanders, political, technical and other officers. They are trained in military academies, cadet schools and various courses. Soviet officers are well trained from the military, political, special and general educational aspects. In the rocket forces, for example, 72 out of every 100 officers are graduated engineers or technicians. Every fourth

Soviet officer has a higher education, every fifth has a higher military education. Almost 90 per cent of the officers are members or candidate members of the C.P.S.U. or members of the youth organisation.

The fundamental principle of Soviet Army organisation is one-man command. This means that every service unit and military administration is headed by a commander invested with undivided authority and rights in respect of his subordinates and is responsible for all aspects of army life.

In large units beginning with the field army level supreme authority is vested in Military Councils whose decisions are carried out through orders issued by the respective commanding general (commander-in-chief).

II. THE PURPOSE AND SUBSTANCE OF PARTY AND POLITICAL WORK IN THE SOVIET ARMY

Party and political work in the army is the Communist Party's ideological and organisational work aimed at educating army personnel in a spirit of Marxism-Leninism, selfless devotion to the country, the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government, fraternal friendship among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., socialist internationalism and devotion to their military duty. Its importance can hardly be overestimated.

The C.P.S.U., leader of the Soviet people and the army, possesses a tremendous body of experience in mass leadership. This experience reveals that the success of the Party's work depends on the correctness of its policies, which are based on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. Furthermore, correct policies must necessarily be supplemented by purposeful work for their implementation. Therefore the explanation and implementation of Party policies in the armed forces is one of the primary objectives of Party and political work in the army.

The importance of Party and political work in the army stems from the Marxist-Leninist principle that the consciousness and morale of the masses of the people are decisive for victory in war.

The socialist social system profoundly influences the consciousness of men, but the formation of socialist consciousness is not a spontaneous, haphazard development. Diligent Party and political work is essential if the ideas of scientific socialism are to capture the minds of men. If they are not accepted by the masses, the most truthful and lofty ideas are of no avail. If socialist ideas capture the imagination they help men to stand firm in the most difficult struggles.

Socialist consciousness is the foundation on which lofty moral and military qualities can be fostered. These qualities are essential for success in combat missions. For in the final analysis, the army is organised, trained and educated for armed struggle. War is the gravest trial of men's moral, mental and physical faculties. Fulfilment of one's duty in combat is fraught with a constant danger to one's life. In war officers and men must overcome odds which demand the greatest physical tension, grit and self-control. Victory over the enemy depends on ideological conviction and staunch morale. Party and political work is designed to foster such moral and military qualities as courage, bravery, heroism, discipline and devotion to one's military duty.

The armies of socialist countries can wage only just wars for the defence of their integrity and

the freedom of the people. Realisation by soldiers of the just aims of a war is one of the main sources of the high morale of the Soviet Army and the armies of other socialist countries. The deeper the men realise the true goals and motives of the war, the greater their readiness for resolute action. If a soldier is convinced that a war is being waged for a just cause he will execute his duties with inspiration.

It is the purpose of Party and political work to explain that a war unleashed by the imperialists against a socialist country, is a just war as far as the latter is concerned. It was in this spirit that the C.P.S.U. conducted its political work in the Soviet Army in the Civil War and in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45.

The actual content of Party and political work is determined by the military and political objectives which the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government set before the army.

In the Civil War and the period of foreign military intervention the basic slogan defining the content of political work in the army was that of defending the gains of Soviet power, the land and factories from internal and foreign counter-revolution.

During the Great Patriotic War, the fundamental task of political work in the army was to mobilise the men to the heroic defence of the country and the total defeat of German fascism. In present conditions the principal task of Party and political work in the Soviet Army is to rally the men to a

gallant struggle in defence of the gains of socialism in case of aggression. The Soviet Army and the armies of the other socialist countries must even in times of peace be always ready to fulfil their historic mission. This determines the present role and place of Party and political work with troops. Its content is defined by its immediate objectives, which are to strengthen the military might of the armed forces, ensure effective combat readiness of all arms and foster the political consciousness, morale and fighting qualities of the troops.

Vladimir Lenin, founder of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state, attached great importance to the role and place of Party and political work in building up the Soviet Army. He pointed out that the units where political work was carried out with a will evinced better discipline and higher morale and boasted more victories than units where it was lax. Lenin stressed that Party and political work among the troops should be militant and continuous. Party workers and military men alike should never slacken political work, they should improve its standards and foster in their men devotion to the cause of the revolution.

When the Soviet Army was created the C.P.S.U. established there political bodies and Party organisations with the task of carrying out Party and political work among the troops. The organisation of the Soviet Army began in the difficult conditions of foreign military intervention and civil war, with no experience whatsoever to rely upon. The

Party was forced to work by trial and error. It sought the forms of organisation which would be best suited to the revolutionary nature, goals and purposes of a new type of army.

In April 1918, the institution of army commissars was introduced. Commissars were appointed to every unit, and they carried Party leadership into the army and navy, turning them into reliable bulwarks of the Soviet power. They conducted political work among the troops, fostering in them love for their country, hatred for the enemy, fearlessness and readiness for self-sacrifice. At that time our young Republic still lacked a sufficient number of trained commanders of worker and peasant stock. The Party was forced to rely on the old military experts possessing the necessary experience and knowledge. Many of them, however, were hostile towards the Soviet government. Rigid control had to be maintained over them, and it was exercised through the army commissars and Party organisations.

The commissars played an important part in building up and strengthening the Soviet Army. They not only controlled the old military experts but also helped them in their work, encouraged new commanders of worker and peasant stock and rallied the men around the Party and the Soviet government. The commissars were immediate representatives of the Soviet government in the army. A military commander's order was valid only with the commissar's signature. By their personal examples of heroism and bravery

the commissars imbued the troops with a spirit of revolutionary consciousness, discipline and fortitude.

In their political work the commissars relied on army Party organisations, whose activities they directed. The first Party organisations in the army were set up in the spring of 1918. By October, there were 800 Party cells (as the smallest Party element was then called) with more than 35,000 members. By February 1919, the number of Party cells in the army had increased to 1,500, and the Party membership to 122,000.

At first there were no clearly defined organisational forms or methods of work to guide army Party cells. In January 1919, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. issued an instruction to all army Party cells which specifically defined their tasks and duties. Their main duties were education of the men in a socialist spirit, explanation of Party policies and strengthening of military discipline. They were prohibited from supervising the commanders or interfering in administrative affairs.

As the regular army grew larger and its tasks became more complicated it became necessary to step up Party and political work amidst the troops. The Party organisations required able and efficient leadership.

Initially army Party cells were subordinated to the local Party committees of the districts where the units were stationed. This system of subordination, however, proved unworkable. In combat conditions the army Party cells lost contact with

the local committees and were deprived of guidance for long periods. Party committees elected by appropriate Party conferences were formed in large units, but in combat they, too, were unable to give effective guidance to Party cells.

Political departments were found to offer the best form of leadership of Party organisations and all Party and political work in the army. They combined administrative and Party functions. Being military administrative bodies, they at the same time supervised the practical work of army Party organisations. Accordingly, in the end of 1918, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U ordered the dissolution of Party committees in large units and handed their functions over to the political departments.

In March 1919, the Eighth Party Congress adopted a resolution setting up the Political Department of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic.* In May of the same year the Political Department was reorganised into a Political Administration of the Red Army.

Youth organisations began to appear in the Soviet Army in the 1920s. At first youth Party assistance groups were set up in army units. They were attached to Party cells, which designated the unit youth organiser. In 1925, the Central Com-

* The Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic was, in 1918-34, the Collegium (board) of the People's Commissariat for Military and Naval Affairs. Its duties included leadership of the armed forces, formulation of basic operational defence plans, etc.

mittee of the C.P.S.U. allowed the youth league groups to elect their own organisers for work among members of the league. The Central Committee also defined the principal tasks of the Party assistance groups. They were to give active support to Party cells in their political work among both members of the youth league and non-members, tell them about international youth movements, educate them in a spirit of internationalism and draw new members into the league.

In 1930, the youth Party assistance groups were dissolved and youth league cells were organised in companies, batteries and cavalry squadrons. This greatly enhanced the role of the youth league in the army and responsibilities for educational work among young soldiers.

As the Soviet Army developed, the Party perfected the structure, forms and methods of work of its political staff and the Party and youth organisations.

When officers of worker and peasant stock finally assumed most command posts in the army, the Party decided to introduce one-man command. The transition began in the middle of the twenties and took place gradually. The office of deputy commander for political affairs was introduced instead of that of army commissar.

The Party has always given undivided attention to the perfection of Party and political work in the Soviet Armed Forces. An example of this is seen in the decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., held in

October 1957, "On Improving Party and Political Work in the Soviet Army and Navy". The Central Committee stressed the impermissibility of any attempts to minimise the role of the political bodies and Party organisations. The importance of Party and political work in the army was reiterated by the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1961. The Party Programme states that Party leadership of the armed forces and the increasing role and influence of the Party organisations in the army and navy are the bedrock of military development.

The Party exercises its leadership of the armed forces through the Military Councils, commanders, political bodies and Party organisations.

III. ARMY COMMANDERS

An army commander is responsible for the military and political training, education, discipline and morale of his men. He is also responsible for his unit's armament, matériel, transport facilities, quartering and medical support.

A Soviet commander is vested with the supreme authority over his men, enjoys the confidence of the people, in whose name he acts and whose will he carries out.

The main feature of command in the Soviet Army is that it rests on a strictly Party basis. This means that every commander is first and foremost obliged to rigorously pursue the Party line. His primary duty is to show constant concern for his men, he must be tactful and attentive towards them and must never overstep the limits of authority vested in him by army manuals and regulations.

A commander combines personal authority with the will of the collective. He supports the creative initiative and activity of his officers and men.

Every commander relies in his work on the Party and youth organisations. The closer his contact with them the better can he execute his duties. A commander who is a Party member relies on the Party organisation in his work and at the same time directs its work to the fulfilment of combat assignments and military and political training programmes. A commander always seeks the advice of Party members on all important questions of training and educating his men, sets Party members tasks arising from the military and political training programme of his unit, and encourages them to set examples in carrying out their duty. A commander readily responds to criticism of shortcomings in training and education and takes steps to eliminate them.

While a commander guides the work of the Party organisation, he cannot order it about. He abides by the rigid rules of Party life, which reject red-tape.

On the other hand, a Party organisation cannot substitute for a commander or minimise his role. Commanders, political workers and all Party members must work together to solve the common tasks before them in a spirit of businesslike, creative co-operation. Commanders report at Party meetings and sessions of Party committees and bureaux. They outline their ideas concerning measures to be taken to facilitate the fulfilment of the unit's tasks and assignments. It is the duty of Party organisations to work for the

implementation of the commander's orders and instructions.

The political staff of a unit is subordinated to the commander. His instructions concerning political work are obligatory to them. He personally engages in the political and military education of his men and studies their service and moral qualities.

IV. POLITICAL BODIES, THEIR STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

The political bodies in the army are responsible for Party leadership in political work. They are set up in the army and navy by the Ministry of Defence and the Central Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy according to the structure established by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. The staff of political bodies is appointed.

Party committees may be set up in the central agencies of the Ministry of Defence, in headquarters and departments of Military Districts, Fleets and army groups, in military educational establishments and in research institutions, where they enjoy the rights of district Party committees. Party committees are elected at Party conferences of the corresponding military agencies. They supervise the work of subordinate Party organisations, enrol new members to the Party, examine cases of misbehaviour by Party members and keep records of their membership.

The political bodies and Party committees are guided in their work by the Programme and Rules of the C.P.S.U., decisions of Party congresses, the Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

They also carry out their work in accordance with the Regulation Statute of Political Bodies, and orders and directives of the Minister of Defence and the chief of the Central Political Administration. It is their duty to enhance the strength of the armed forces and rally the officers and men around the Party and the Soviet Government.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. supervises the Party and political work in the armed forces through the Central Political Administration, which has the rights of a department of the Central Committee. The Central Political Administration supervises the work of army and navy Party and political bodies and Party and youth organisations and ensures Party influence on all aspects of army life.

The Central Political Administration:

—draws up proposals on important aspects of Party building and the work of the youth organisation in the armed forces;

—sees to it that the political bodies and Party organisations carry out the decisions of the Party and Soviet Government and orders and directives of the Minister of Defence;

—studies and recommends for use the experience gained in Party, political, educational and other mass activities;

—organises the ideological work in the armed forces;

—selects and appoints political workers and supervises their training;

-sponsors activities aimed at strengthening friendly ties between the Soviet Army and the armies of other socialist countries.

To ensure collective responsibility in solving the major problems of Party and political work, the Bureau of the Central Political Administration was set up, comprising the chief of the Central Political Administration (chairman of the Bureau), his deputies, department chiefs and other leading officers. The Bureau passes its decisions by a simple majority vote. A dissident member may submit his considerations to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Instructions concerning Party and political work in the army and navy are undersigned by the Minister of Defence and the chief of the Central Political Administration and endorsed by the Central Committee. Directives and instructions concerning routine Party and political work are issued by the chief of the Central Political Administration.

In Military Districts, Fleets and large units, Party and political work is supervised by the respective political departments (in Districts and Fleets) or sections. The political departments supervise the lower-echelon political sections as well as the Party and youth organisations in military units. They carry out Party and political work aimed at facilitating the implementation of combat training assignments, enhancing the combat readiness of the troops, military order and the prestige of commanders. The political departments and sections are also responsible for organising

and supervising the political education of the officers and men. They instruct the commanders and heads of the political departments of large units in practical Party and political work, study and disseminate progressive methods of work.

The political departments select, appoint and instruct political personnel, supervise the establishment and consolidation of Party organisations and the growth of Party ranks.

The political sections of large units head and organise the Party and political work in the lower units and guide the work of primary Party and youth organisations.

Under the political bodies Party commissions are set up. They are elected at the Party conferences of the respective units, to which they are accountable. The Party Commission of the Central Political Administration is not elected. It is appointed by the Administration and endorsed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Party commissions examine applications for Party membership and offences of members and candidate members of the C.P.S.U. and members of the youth organisation. The work of Party commissions is supervised by the respective political bodies. The secretary of a Party commission reports all its decisions to the head of the political body. If the latter finds that a decision has been taken without due consideration of the facts of the matter or in violation of the norms of Party life, he may offer the Party commission to review the question.

V. THE POLITICAL STAFF OF A REGIMENT OR EQUIVALENT UNIT

The political staff of a regiment or equivalent unit includes: the deputy commander for political affairs, a propagandist and a club manager. They are all appointed by the superior command. Deputy commanders for political affairs are also appointed in the smaller units (battalions, separate companies). Regiments and ships also have Party and youth organisers elected in accordance with the Party Rules and the youth league rules. The deputy commander for political affairs is subordinate to his commander and to the head of the political section of the respective large unit.

The deputy commander for political affairs has many duties. He sees to it that political work is aimed at maintaining the unit in permanent combat readiness. To this end he fosters in the men a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, vigilance, and consciousness in carrying out the requirements of army manuals and the commanders' orders. He sees to it that every private, N.C.O. and officer realise his responsibility for mastering the weapons and

matériel at his disposal. His duties with respect to the Party organisation can be formulated as follows: together with the Party committee (bureau) he organises Party work in the unit and is directly responsible for it. He has the authority to supervise the youth organisation. He sees to it that the men receive their rations and clothing and equipment allowances in due time and that they be of the prescribed quality.

The deputy commander for political affairs organises political work with the families of servicemen and keeps constantly in contact with local government authorities, Party and public organisations. One could say that there is not a single aspect of work in the unit concerning which the deputy commander for political affairs might declare: "This is none of my business, this is not my concern."

The deputy commander for political affairs supervises the work of other political personnel. The propagandist is responsible for the state of information and propaganda work and personally carries it out with the officers, N.C.O.s and men. He offers advice to the officers in studying Marxist-Leninist theory, sees to it that political classes are conducted in due time and that their ideological content and methodological standards are adequate. In small units (platoon, crew) propaganda work is carried out on a voluntary basis. The propagandist is helped by voluntary assistants whom he instructs and supplies with necessary materials.

The club manager organises recreational facilities for the officers and men, the showing of motion pictures, radio services and amateur talent activities. He is also responsible for the timely delivery of newspapers, magazines and books.

Every unit draws up a plan of Party and political work, which makes it possible for the officers in charge to concentrate on the major problems, organise their work better and make best use of the time at their disposal. The plan gives a timetable of specific activities and the people responsible for them. To ensure that the plan is purposeful and realistic, the deputy commander for political affairs consults the unit commander, the political officers and other active Party members. The plan, however, is but the first step in the work. It must be carried out, and this requires organisation.

A regiment's political staff carries out their organisational work directly in the units. They ascertain what difficulties the unit commanders come up against, how they expand their knowledge and help them organise the instruction and education of their subordinates. In all cases it is important to demonstrate in practice how this or that work should be carried out. Workers of the political staff also talk with the N.C.O.s and men, study their frame of mind, requirements and wishes, help men when necessary to get rid of shortcomings and encourage initiative and innovations. The political officers personally deliver lectures to the men. This is one of the most widely used methods of

political influence of the personnel practised in the Soviet Army.

The Party is very exacting towards the political workers of the Soviet Army. First of all, they must carry high prestige with the men. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the success of leadership lies not only in authority but in prestige as well. Prestige, however, is gained by comprehensive knowledge, ability and a desire to use them in practice. A political worker is by duty bound to have a profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory. He should also have a clear understanding of the decisions of the Party and the Soviet Government and of all important events in the world and at home. Only then can he hope to grasp the purport of political developments and explain them correctly. Without this he can never hope to be up to the mark.

A political worker must also be well versed in military affairs. He will find it especially useful if he not only keeps abreast of the developments of military science and technology but is in advance of other officers in ability to handle arms and matériel. Without adequate military training he risks being nothing more than an educator and losing his power of influencing the masses.

An extremely important requirement to political workers is that they be an example of moral integrity. It is a truism to say that personal example in this respect carries tremendous weight, which nothing else can replace. An educator influences men not only by conveying specific knowledge to

them but also by his behaviour, way of life and attitudes towards work and daily events. If a political worker allows his moral prestige to waver, his educational role deteriorates drastically.

Every political worker must develop in himself a Leninist style of work: under all circumstances he must display a principled, Party-minded approach to problems, be able to grasp the main point in his work and pursue every undertaking to its conclusion, possess a sense of the new and progressive, and be constantly in the midst of the masses. He must carry such Leninist traits as accessibility, simplicity of attitude, responsiveness, exactingness and pedagogical tactfulness.

These requirements are essential for political workers of all echelons. Obviously, army commanders must also meet them as they supervise all aspects of life in their units.

VI. PARTY AND YOUTH ORGANISATIONS IN THE SOVIET ARMY, THEIR STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

The importance of Party and youth organisations in the army cannot be overrated.

1. Party Organisations

The Party Rules are the fundamental law of Party life. They define the organisational principles on which the Party is built, the methods to be employed in its practical work, and the norms of Party life. They are the law for Party organisations in the Soviet Army as well. However, Party organisation in the armed forces has certain aspects conditioned by the specific features of army life. Unlike other organised collectives, the armed forces are characterised by a high degree of centralisation, one-man command and military discipline. This is reflected in the structure of Party organisations and in some forms and methods of their work. Therefore, the Party Rules, being the basic guiding document, are supple-

mented by a special instruction of the Party Central Committee on the work of Party organisations in the Soviet Army and Navy and a Statute of Political Bodies. These documents specify the principles of Party organisation in the army.

The structure of Party organisations in the armed forces follows the organisation of the troops and is in accordance with the nature of their tasks. Party organisations of the Soviet Army are not part of local (district or city) Party organisations. They are established and approved by the respective political bodies and army Party committees corresponding to district Party committees, and work under their supervision.

Such army Party organisation ensures efficient and effective guidance in all situations.

Primary Party organisations of the Soviet Army are set up in regiments and equivalent units, headquarters of large units, military educational and administrative establishments having not less than three Party members. If the Party organisation of a regiment or equivalent unit has more than 75 Party members and candidate members, a Party committee is set up. In this case the Party organisations of smaller units (battalions that are parts of regiments) have the powers of a primary Party organisation. In companies and equivalent elements of such a regiment, Party organisations function with the same powers as Party organisations in shops of industrial enterprises. In regimental Party organisations with less than 75 members a bureau is elected, and battalion Party organisa-

tions function with the powers of a shop Party organisation at an industrial enterprise. In such cases Party groups are set up in the companies.

Army Party organisation makes it possible to extend Party influence to Party members and non-members alike and to engage in down-to-earth Party work on the basis of the tasks facing the respective units and elements. Primary Party organisations supervise the study of Marxist-Leninist theory by Party members and candidate members and educate them and the other men in a spirit of devotion to the Party cause. They ensure the vanguard role of Party members in service and army discipline, strengthen the army command, sponsor socialist emulation drives, and rally the personnel to the successful implementation of the tasks of military and political training. They also guide the work of youth organisations and maintain close contact with all officers and men who are not members of the Party or youth organisation. The Party organisations actively participate in all aspects of military training and education. Unlike civilian Party organisations at industrial enterprises, army primary Party organisations may not control the actions of commanders (an exception to this rule is the primary Party organisations of army sales and manufacturing agencies).

One of the principal tasks of a Party organisation is the admission and education of new members. Applications for Party membership are

discussed and a decision is taken by the primary Party organisation; the decision comes into effect after endorsement by the Party commission of the corresponding political body (Party committee with the powers of a district Party committee). If the regiment (department, educational establishment) has a Party committee, it, too, examines decisions on the admission of new members to the Party and only then is the matter referred for final endorsement to the Party commission of the political section (Party committee with the powers of a district Party committee). Party membership is open to active youth league members and all other foremost servicemen. Party organisations must always bear in mind Lenin's words: "We have no use for show members."

The highest body of a primary Party organisation is the general meeting, which is held not rarer than once a month. If conditions of service make it impossible to call regular general meetings, the political section may allow meetings to be conducted with delegated members elected by Party meetings in the lower elements.

Party meetings discuss a wide range of matters; for example, the leading role of Party members in political training, the tasks of the Party organisation in raising the standards of military training, the participation of Party members in disseminating military and technical knowledge, the promotion of rationalisation work and inventions, admission to the Party, etc. The agenda is drawn up by the Party committee (bureau). In drawing

up the agenda the Party secretary consults the commander and his deputy for political affairs and takes into account the suggestions of other Party members. On the basis of criticism and self-criticism the Party organisations boldly lay bare shortcomings in the instruction and education of the men and help to eliminate them. At Party meetings one may criticise any member or candidate member irrespective of the office he holds. But in view of the specific features of service it is not allowed to criticise the orders and directives of commanders.

In primary Party organisations and organisations with the powers of a factory shop organisation which have 15 or more members a bureau is elected by secret ballot; in regiments with more than 75 Party members a committee is elected, the number of members being established by the Party meeting and the term being one year. The committee (bureau) elects from its members a secretary and one or two deputy secretaries by open ballot. If a Party organisation has less than 15 members it elects a secretary and a deputy secretary of the organisation. The secretary of a primary Party organisation is endorsed by the head of the political section (committee with the powers of a district Party committee).

The committee (bureau) is a body of collective leadership that organises the implementation of all tasks facing the Party organisation; it conducts its work primarily in the small units. It reports on its work to the Party meeting.

2. Youth Organisations

The Central Political Administration supervises the youth organisations of the Soviet Army through the respective political bodies, Party organisations and deputy commanders for political affairs. The Central Political Administration co-ordinates the fundamental problems of their work with the central committee of the youth organisation.

The political bodies have departments (sections) for work among the youth, headed by a deputy chief of the body concerned. The staff of these departments (sections) is appointed, not elected. Here, too, the specific features of army life are taken into account. Their workers are constantly among the young people, whom they draw into active participation in army life and whose needs and moods they study. They spend most of their time in the units and elements, helping to organise work on the spot and popularising the experience and initiative of the best young soldiers.

Primary youth organisations are set up in battalions, separate (independent) companies and corresponding units. Their structure is on the whole analogous to the structure of primary Party organisations.

Army youth organisations represent a tremendous force. They enhance the political consciousness of young soldiers, foster in them fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, the Party, the revolutionary

traditions of the Soviet people and the combat traditions of the Soviet Army. They help the commanders and Party organisations in solving the tasks facing units, in educating servicemen and organising their recreation.

Youth organisations see to it that their members are model soldiers in training and discipline, physical culture and sports, and follow Lenin's behest to be diligent in military training. Every youth league member must be educated in a spirit of collectivism, comradely mutual assistance, honesty and truthfulness, persistence and industriousness.

Primary youth organisations hold meetings not rarer than once a month. They discuss ways and means of carrying out Party decisions, commanders' orders and directives of leading Party bodies. Free and businesslike discussion of all issues is encouraged. Every participant may openly and fearlessly express his view and make proposals. Just as at Party meetings, one may not criticise the orders and instructions of commanders.

A primary youth organisation of 10 or more members elects, by open ballot, a bureau for a one-year term for carrying on current work. If an organisation has less than 10 members, a secretary and deputy secretary are elected. A regimental youth organisation elects a committee. The bureau (committee) is a body of collective leadership. It takes decisions collectively at regular meetings. All members of the bureau (committee) must work for the implementation of the adopted

decisions, submit proposals and work in close contact with the young soldiers.

The youth organisations work actively to enlist new members. For a young man to join the organisation he should be recommended by two youth league members or one Party member. The bureau considers every application separately. The youth league membership is open to the best soldiers up to the age of 28. Final endorsement of membership rests with the general meeting of the primary organisation.

The foremost youth organisation members join the ranks of the Party. Applicants must submit recommendations of Party members and also a recommendation of their youth organisation which is endorsed by the deputy regimental commander for political affairs or a youth organisation committee with the powers of a district youth committee or, where there is no such committee, by the head of the political department or his deputy for work among the youth.

The youth organisations help their members acquire experience in practical work. Assignments are of special importance in this respect. In giving an assignment, the committee, bureau, or secretary of the organisation should take into account the man's abilities, educational standard, inclinations and interests. Thus, one man may make a good propagandist, a literature fan may be called upon to organise the reading and discussion of an interesting book, a front-ranker in combat training may help his mates master a second

speciality, etc. Members of youth organisation frequently do not await assignments and act on their own initiative. Thus, in one unit a private was unable to man a complex installation efficiently. Moreover, he was convinced of his inability to master the job well and began to lose faith in himself. His mate, a first-class specialist, noticed this and offered to help him. At classes, in their spare time and in self-education hours he explained the fundamentals of electronics, the design of different parts, the processes taking place in them and methods of work in combat. This yielded good results and the man completed the study year as one of the best operators in the unit.

The achievements of youth organisations are in direct proportion to the quality of guidance they receive. Political bodies, deputy commanders for political affairs and Party organisations select and appoint the leading workers of the youth organisation, their objective being to enhance and strengthen the Party nucleus of the youth organisation. They organise the education of active members and instruct them in practical work, set specific tasks before the youth organisations and control their work.

* * *

The political bodies, Party and youth organisations function on the basis of broad internal Party democracy and collective leadership.

In determining various aspects of Party and political work and the placing of political person-

nel, the heads of political bodies must as a rule discuss matters with the members of their staff. Although they are appointed and not elected, the political bodies must nevertheless heed the advice of all servicemen and report frequently to the Party membership. Following the experience of civilian Party organisations, voluntary Party and political work is encouraged in the army. Volunteers work in their spare time and without remuneration.

Operating on a voluntary basis in political bodies are standing commissions on ideological, Party organisational and mass cultural work, councils of veterans of the youth organisation, methodological committees on questions of political education, etc. Party committees (bureaux) of regiments and equivalent units set up groups of lecturers, commissions for summarising and popularising military knowledge, for work among servicemen's families, etc. In the small units there are non-staff propagandists.

VII. IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET ARMY

1. The Content and Tasks of Ideological and Political Education

Education is an essential function of any society, but its contents and methods are historically conditioned. They change markedly depending on the prevailing social relations. In bourgeois society education is determined by the policies of the ruling exploiter classes. It is aimed at strengthening the capitalist system. In socialist society its content is entirely different and it is subordinated to the noble aims of building socialism and communism.

The primary task of ideological and political education of Soviet people, servicemen included, is to foster a Marxist-Leninist outlook. The Marxist-Leninist outlook helps to gain a profound understanding of the course and prospects of world development, events at home and on the international scene, and to consciously carry out one's social and military duty.

Commanders, political workers and Party organisations explain to the men the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of development of nature and society. Their concern is that the men know the policies of the Party and the Government and realise to the full the aims which the Soviet Army serves. That is why special attention in the political education of servicemen is given to the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the theoretical problems and practical tasks outlined in Party decisions. This promotes high ideological and educational standards and a readiness to defend the people's interest with utmost courage.

The fostering of a conscious attitude towards military service is an important part of the ideological and political education of army personnel. The Party stresses that honest, diligent work for the benefit of the country must become a habit, a primary vital necessity of all members of Soviet society. Military service has its specific features. It is not directly associated with the production of material wealth. Nevertheless, it is of great importance. Military service imposes a considerable strain. Persistent mental and physical effort is needed to master the diverse and complex means and methods of modern warfare. Ideological work helps the men deeper to realise that their work is socially useful and honourable. Commanders, political workers and propagandists explain the connection between military service and national tasks. They cite examples of industriousness and

diligence, encourage initiative and call upon the men to keep up with the front rankers in military and political training.

Moral education of servicemen occupies an important place in ideological work. Morality can be defined as the totality of rules, principles and norms of behaviour of people, their duties with respect to one another and to society. Communist morality includes such lofty principles as safeguarding and enhancing the public wealth, comradely mutual assistance, honesty, truthfulness and fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries. Inseparable from them are the norms and rules of behaviour of servicemen specific to the army as formulated in the Oath of Allegiance and army manuals and regulations. The servicemen are told of the principles of socialist morality, the requirements of the Oath and manuals and of the evils of bourgeois morality which breeds individualism, greed, mutual distrust, rivalry and hostility.

However, it is not enough merely to describe lofty moral principles. Commanders and political workers must do everything to make the principles of socialist morality the rule of behaviour of every serviceman. The mass media are used to foster such lofty moral and military qualities in the men as courage, military comradeship, initiative and honesty and to denounce such immoral qualities as cowardice, falsehood and immodesty. Commanders and political workers should nip in the bud

the slightest attempt to ignore the requirements of military orders and directives.

Various forms and methods of work are employed for the moral education of the personnel: lectures, meetings, topical evenings, reading of books, etc. Thousands of Soviet officers and men have visited Lenin's flat and study in the Kremlin. This is now a museum in which everything bespeaks of Lenin's great love for the working people. He was simple and modest in private life. After visiting this museum talks and topical evenings are conducted in army units on such subjects as "Live, Study and Triumph Like Lenin" and "Lenin is Our Banner".

Purposes of moral education are served by youth meetings and debates on the moral make-up of Soviet servicemen, stories of the heroic exploits of Soviet people in war and in peaceful labour. The positive result of this work is indubitable. This is seen in the fact that, after the expiration of their term of service in the army, many young people volunteer to go to new construction projects in regions where the climate is rigorous and amenities are so far negligible. At the Bratsk hydroelectric project in Siberia a foreign correspondent asked ex-serviceman Y. Lanuda: "Who made you come to Siberia?" "My conscience," was the reply. "I knew that I would be more useful in Siberia."

In 1963, the national youth newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* issued a questionnaire on the subject, "What do you think of your generation?" Among those who responded were 5,000 service-

men. They were practically unanimous in defining the characteristic traits of the young generation as: devotion to the Party, staunchness, heroism, activity, and the spirit of one for all and all for one.

In the Soviet Army great attention is given to the education of the personnel in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. Soviet patriotism means love and devotion to the country, the people and the Party. This lofty sentiment is fostered on the basis of socialist world outlook and the realities of Soviet life.

The advantages of the socialist over the bourgeois system are demonstrated in many ways. The men are told of the Soviet Union's great achievements in the development of its economy, culture, science and technology. Soviet soldiers know that the first country of socialism builds the world's biggest hydrotechnical projects, mighty spaceships and transforms nature. Yuri Gagarin, the first man ever to fly into outer space, is a son of the Soviet people. These and many other facts of contemporary life foster a lofty sense of love for the socialist country.

The C.P.S.U., the Soviet people and their army can boast many fine military traditions. They, too, are widely popularised. The men strive to be like the Leninist revolutionaries and, following the example of heroes, they are ready to steadfastly defend the interests of the people.

Soviet patriotism is fostered together with socialist internationalism. With the emergence of the

world socialist system, the concept of patriotism embraces the devotion of Soviet people to their country and to the whole community of socialist nations. This means that Soviet servicemen are ready to defend all the countries of the socialist community from imperialist aggression as they would their own country. They are imbued with love towards the fraternal peoples and their armies. The Soviet Army and the friendly armies of socialist nations carry out joint exercises, send representatives to each other to study new experience, exchange books, organise sports competitions, etc.

Socialist internationalism also includes friendship with and respect for all peoples of the world, all the working people of big and small nations. Every Soviet soldier knows that the Soviet Union gives all-round assistance to the peoples of Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Mali, Kenya and many other countries, thereby carrying out its internationalist duty. The Soviet people's achievements in building a new life serve as a moral support and inspiring example for the working people of the world. This was well put by President Modibo Keita of Mali. "The people of the Soviet Union," he said, "have opened up the eyes of the whole world and demonstrated that a nation resolved to attain freedom is invincible."

The struggle against bourgeois ideology is an essential aspect of educational work in the Soviet Army. In building up their armed forces the imperialists are at present gambling mainly on

ideological subversion. They place great hope in undermining the political morale of Soviet servicemen. Bearing this in mind, commanders and political bodies give special attention to explaining the principles of socialist ideology. They expose the aggressive substance of imperialism and its corrupt, anti-national policies. This is done with the help of well-established facts.

The ideologists of imperialism are, for example, waging a slanderous propaganda campaign seeking to prove that the socialist system offers the people less material and spiritual boons than the capitalist system. This slander is easily refuted by the facts of Soviet life. In the Soviet Union there is no unemployment, education and medical services are free, and illiteracy has been eradicated completely. In 1964, more than 64 million persons, one third of the population, were engaged in one form of studies or another. As compared, in the capitalist world, including the most highly developed countries, there were 700 million illiterate persons.

The Soviet Union builds as much housing as 17 of the biggest capitalist countries taken together. In the last 10 years, 108 million Soviet persons—almost half the population—moved into new homes.

The imperialists do not restrict themselves to ideological subversion. They send spies and saboteurs into the socialist countries with a special interest in military installations. The personnel of imperialist armies are educated in a spirit of

hatred towards the countries of socialism and their ruling parties.

In view of the aggressive plans of the imperialists and their perfidious methods, the Soviet Army spares no effort to maintain a high standard of vigilance and combat readiness.

Ideological and political education of the officers and men takes a variety of forms and methods. It is carried out on a differentiated basis which takes into account the demands and specific features of service of different categories of military personnel.

2. Political Training of Officers

The principal method of political training of officers is independent studying of Marxist-Leninist theory. Commanders, political bodies and Party organisations give every assistance to officers of all grades in their independent political studies. Groups of Marxist-Leninist education are organised for conducting lectures and seminars. Attendance is obligatory, though the officer may decide for himself which group he prefers. Study topics include: history of the Party, philosophy, political economy, the Marxist-Leninist teaching on war and the army, problems of military theory, the theory and practice of army education.

Marxist-Leninist groups are conducted by the most educated and experienced commanders and

political workers, usually of higher office. Some 50 hours of service time a year are set aside for Marxist-Leninist education. If an officer misses a lecture or seminar the head of his group conducts individual talks with him on the relevant subject. Officers enrolled in other types of educational activity are exempted from attending the groups.

In order to help the officers to gain a deeper understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, classes during service hours are supplemented by theoretical conferences, debates and lectures held after regular hours. The following example could be cited. In one unit a theoretical conference was devoted to the topic: "Principles of Instruction and Education of Soviet Servicemen". The conference was well prepared and the officers were informed in advance of the main questions to be raised. Several books on the theory and practice of instruction and education in the army were recommended for reading. The principal speaker was appointed and the political staff and Party committee helped him select interesting facts from the life of the unit. The lecture was very interesting, and many officers took part in the ensuing debate. They spoke of the practical educational applications of Marxist-Leninist theory and shared their own experiences. Other questions discussed were: the importance of positive examples, the role of the collective in instruction and education, individual work of officers with their subordinates, etc. The commanding officer summed up the results of the conference and outlined the main tasks deriving

from the questions discussed. In another unit lectures on the subjects "Wars in Defence of the Socialist Motherland" and "The Struggle of the Peoples of Africa Against Colonialism" were delivered for the officers.

At lectures, theoretical conferences and talks with officers much attention is given to topical problems of Soviet life, the development of the world socialist system, and the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Each topic is elaborated in connection with the specific tasks of army life and the units concerned.

Commanders and political workers also supervise the independent studies of officers, help them to acquire books, equip study rooms, etc.

Officers are also drawn into active work in Party and youth organisations, they are given assignments and speak at meetings of the rank and file. At least once a month superior officers deliver lectures for their subordinates.

3. Political Classes for Other Ranks

Political classes are an important means of political education. They are conducted in duty hours twice a week for two hours. Political syllabuses are drawn up every year by the Central Political Administration.

At classes the men are told how the Soviet people are implementing Marxist-Leninist theory

and the Party Programme, of the importance of the world workers' and national liberation movements, the historic necessity of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, how world war can be averted and other topics of importance. Political classes are designed to help the men to fulfill their socialist pledges, master matériel and weapons, and strengthen the discipline and combat readiness. At these classes such topics are studied as: "Service Manuals and Regulations—the Law of Life in the Army", "The World Socialist System", "The Character and Features of Modern Warfare", "Marxism-Leninism on the Development of Society", "The National Liberation Movement of the Peoples Against Colonialism".

The commanders and their deputies for political affairs are directly responsible for the organisation of political classes in regiments and equivalent units. The classes are conducted in groups of not more than 25 men. Attendance is obligatory. Unit commanders, political workers and other qualified officers conduct the classes. Group supervisors have assistants who are appointed from among best-trained other ranks who are members of the Party or the youth league. An assistant supervisor conducts supplementary classes, helps lagging students and organises independent reading of recommended literature in off-duty hours.

Classes involving the most difficult topics are conducted by senior officers. However, it is not

enough just to select the group supervisors. They, too, must be helped to improve their knowledge and prepare well for every class. Such help is rendered in a variety of ways. Thus two or three four-hour seminars for officers conducting political classes are held every month during service hours. Large units organise training assemblies and seminars for them at which lectures are delivered and talks are held on the subjects of the syllabuses and the more difficult theoretical problems. The officers also exchange experience and analyse the results of the classes. Group supervisors are given the time and facilities to prepare for the classes. They can work in self-education and methodological rooms.

As a rule, a new topic is introduced by a lecture or story. Then the instructor gives methodological advice on how to prepare independently for a seminar or colloquium. Towards the end of the class he answers questions and recommends the relevant literature. Independent reading may take place in either class or off-duty time, in which case the work is organised by the assistant group supervisor. Libraries supply the students with necessary books and references.

After the independent studies, seminars and colloquiums are held in the groups. They represent lively, creative discussions of the basic subject matter. The instructor should not avoid a debate and he should encourage the students to express their views freely. At the end of a class he sums up the results, evaluates the degree to which the

material has been mastered, explains questions that may have remained obscure and tells the students the topic of the next class.

Commanders, political workers and Party and youth organisations give constant attention to political classes. They analyse the experience gained in conducting classes, look after attendance, encourage the best group instructors and spare no effort in helping the men to gain a deep understanding of the study matter. Geographical maps, diagrams, photographs, drawings and motion pictures are used at the classes. Visual study aids have an emotional effect and help to understand the subject matter better.

Excursions to museums, factories and exhibitions, meetings with writers, etc., all contribute to the men's political education and is a stimulus for model service.

A must in political education are political information reports. Their purpose is to explain the latest decisions of the Party and the Government, current political events at home and abroad and the main tasks of the unit. Political information reports are conducted twice a week in the morning hours of the daily routine on days when there are no political classes, and they last 30 minutes. The topic is outlined by the deputy commander for political affairs and the reports are conducted by unit commanders and other officers possessing the necessary qualifications.

Besides the obligatory forms of political training, the Soviet Army has an elaborate system of

political education, mass propaganda and popularisation, cultural and enlightenment work in which voluntary forms and public initiative are dominant.

4. The System of Political Education

The system of political education includes evening universities of Marxism-Leninism, evening Party schools and seminars, study circles and political schools for workers and the members of servicemen's families. The political education system is supervised by the political bodies and Party committees. Depending on conditions and the expressed wishes of the officers, evening universities of Marxism-Leninism set up departments of philosophy, history and others. Students of evening Party schools study the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, problems of education, psychology, political and military education, history of the Party and other subjects. The system of political education is attended mainly by commanders and political workers, voluntary propagandists and active Party and the youth organisation members. The study year is eight months.

5. Main Forms of Mass Propaganda

These include oral and visual propaganda and popularisation media and individual and group talks, a very flexible form which can be used

with equal success in the most diverse conditions: in the barracks, on the march, during tactical exercises, etc.

Talks are conducted by propagandists, commanders and political workers. Some are planned in advance, others are conducted as the need arises, taking into account the situation and the tasks of the unit. Thus, they may be devoted to a forthcoming shooting or field exercises, an assignment for guard duty, the arrival of reinforcements, achievements of the best soldiers, etc. Frequent topics for talks are the military traditions of the Soviet Army and the requirements of the Oath of Allegiance and manuals and regulations.

An important means of mass propaganda are lectures and reports. The quality of a lecture or report will depend mainly on the general educational level of the propagandist delivering it. In order to help and guide them in their work the political departments of large units invite officers to conduct political and scientific lectures for propagandists. The Party committees (bureaux) of regiments and equivalent units organise lecture groups which popularise materials of Party congresses and sessions of the Central Committee, questions of military science, philosophy, atheism and international affairs. Thus, a series of lectures on atheism may include subjects like "The Origin of Life on Earth", "The Origin and Essence of Christianity", "Man and Outer Space", "The Scientific Results of the Flights of Soviet Cosmonauts", etc.

Commanders and political workers should attend lectures themselves and encourage their men to do likewise. They also study the men's opinions about the lectures.

The practice of educational work includes meetings of servicemen which may discuss such topics as:

- general questions deriving from important political developments in the country (Party congress, elections to government bodies, October Revolution anniversary, etc.);

- Soviet patriotism, the military traditions of the Soviet Army (regiment's anniversary, etc.);

- questions associated with the fulfilment of tasks of military and political training (socialist emulation, forthcoming exercises, etc.). Meetings pass relevant decisions on the questions discussed.

An extremely effective form of political work is mass meetings which are called when it is necessary urgently to inform the personnel of new outstanding developments at home and abroad and rally the men to the solution of important practical tasks. Mass meetings are often conducted in front of the regimental colours. The speakers should be laconic and to the point and carry a specific message. Mass meetings have a deeply emotional effect and stimulate the men's will to carry out their duties.

Another popular form of propaganda work is Lenin readings. They originated because of the tremendous interest displayed by officers and men alike towards the work of the founder and leader

of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state, Vladimir Lenin. The methods of conducting Lenin readings may differ. For instance, one or several of his works covering a single theme are read, with topics such as: "Lenin's Military Behests", "Lenin on Discipline". Readings are accompanied by displays of photographs, documentary and feature films about Lenin, and playing back records of Lenin's speeches. If possible, veterans of the revolution, people who met Lenin and worked directly under his leadership are invited to the readings. The reading of a work is preceded by a brief characteristic of the circumstances in which it was written. The necessary explanations are given in the course of the reading, after which an exchange of views and short discussion of the work usually takes place. Lenin readings are conducted by the most experienced officers enjoying great prestige among the men.

In order to explain political, scientific, technical, legal, domestic and other questions of interest to the men, question and answer evenings are organised. Such evenings may be conducted something along the following lines: the officer in charge opens the evening with a brief introductory speech, after which he gives the floor to experts who answer questions from the hall. At the end he sums up the results. If for some reason or other a question cannot be answered at once the officer in charge informs the audience when the answer will be forthcoming. From the questions asked the commanders and political workers can judge of

the things that interest the men at present and take this into account in their work.

Such interesting undertakings as public debates are also practised. A debate presumes a broad exchange of views, in which opinions may clash, and the search for correct answers to controversial issues. There are many topics that can be put up for a public debate. For instance: "Can a Soldier Perform a Heroic Deed in Peacetime?", "Heroes Whom We Look Up To", "The Moral Make-up of a Soviet Soldier". The debate is conducted by a political worker or some other knowledgeable officer. The speakers freely express and defend their views. In conclusion the officer in charge offers correct explanations to the questions on which opinions varied. He counters misconceptions with well-reasoned correct answers. Furthermore, he draws attention to the practical conclusions deriving from the debate.

An important part in ideological and educational work is visual propaganda, the objectives of which are the same as of oral propaganda, but achieved in different ways. Displays, photographic montages, diagrams, charts, placards, slogans, etc., are mounted in Lenin rooms, clubs and military cantonments. In addition to topical displays, which are kept up for some time, there are stands which continuously reflect important current events. Every unit features photographic montages which show the achievements of the foremost sections, crews and gunners, the men in action

during tactical exercises, the results of shooting exercises and sports achievements.

Visual propaganda is a creative undertaking. It is characterised by simplicity, vividness and clarity of artistic expression. Experience shows that good photographs, graphic representations, explanatory notes and slogans make for good memorisation of events and service requirements.

6. Cultural and Enlightenment Work

Cultural and enlightenment work is an integral part of the ideological and political education of Soviet servicemen. It plays an important part in the education of the men and caters for their cultural requirements.

The Soviet Army has a comprehensive system of cultural enlightenment institutions. In the centre these include: the Frunze Central Soviet Army House, the Central Soviet Army Theatre, the Red Banner Song and Dance Ensemble of the Soviet Army, the Grekov Studio of Army Artists, the Central Soviet Army Museum, the Central Naval Museum, the Central Museum of the History of Artillery, the Military Medical Museum, the Central Museum of the History of Military Engineering, the Military Department of the Lenin State Library, and the Central Naval Library.

Military Districts, Fleets and big garrisons have Officers' Houses of their own. Regiments, equivalent units and ships have clubs and libraries,

and small units have Lenin rooms or cabins. Officers' Houses, clubs and other establishments are provided with stationary or mobile film projectors and radio centres, television sets, tape recorders, musical instruments and many other cultural facilities.

In regiments the centre of cultural enlightenment work is the regimental club, where lectures, talks and consultations on topical political, military, technical and scientific questions are conducted. Clubs sponsor evening culture universities which help officers, other ranks and members of their families to expand their cultural outlook. Clubs make extensive use of visual propaganda means. They show films, stage plays and organise concerts. Club libraries have comprehensive assortments of political, scientific and military literature, as well as fiction. There is hardly a serviceman in the army who is not a subscriber to a library. The clubs help small units to organise amateur art activities and sport contests. They popularise patriotic and march songs, physical culture and sports. Much attention is given to the organisation of cultural recreation for the personnel on the eve of and during rest days. In order better to take into account the men's desires and make their recreation more interesting, plans for cultural activities are drawn up in advance. Depending on requests and available facilities the following undertakings can be provided for:

1. Lectures and reports on political, scientific, cultural and art topics.

2. Concerts and amateur talent reviews.
3. Book readings and discussions (readers' conferences).
4. Showing of feature, scientific and documentary films, broadcasting of musical recordings.
5. Mass sports activities: cross-country races, contests in various athletic events, chess matches, sports games and outings.
6. Excursions to theatres, museums, factories and historical places.

Some of these undertakings can be combined. For example, young people from neighbouring industrial enterprises, students and performers are invited to a recreation evening for other ranks. The cultural events may include a concert, film, dances, games and amusements. Unfailingly popular are contests for the best elocutionist, singer or dancer, contests of wit, skill, craftsmanship, etc. A recreation evening may be used as an occasion for the men to meet budding poets, writers and composers, who can perform or recite their works in an unconstrained atmosphere.

Films offer both entertainment and a means of improving the political, cultural and military education of the men. Brief talks can be held before a film is shown to acquaint the men with the subject matter and the epoch it reflects. Films or parts of them are frequently used to illustrate and supplement lectures.

A popular form of mass cultural work is the organisation of film festivals timed to coincide with red-letter dates and momentous events in the

country's life. Often the films, especially new and exciting ones, are discussed in the units. The men express their opinion of the film as a whole and point out the principal characters who deserve to serve as models and those to be condemned.

Television is an excellent medium for entertainment and enlightenment. The men are informed in advance of interesting broadcasts, and group viewings are organised of plays, films and outstanding performers. The best broadcasts are discussed.

The men spend much of their free time in their units, where the Lenin room is the centre for educational, cultural and creative work and recreation. The best, brightest and cosiest rooms are chosen. They are decorated and mounted in such a way as to popularise Lenin's behests as well as the objectives of political and military education. Besides displays and stands, Lenin rooms have mobile libraries, newspaper and magazine files, musical instruments, table games, etc. Meetings, lectures and talks on different subjects are held there, and readings of books and periodic literature are organised. Topical evenings, evenings of army friendship, contests and amateur talent activities are conducted regularly.

To organise amateur talent activities in a unit the officers, Party and youth organisations help to determine the good singers, dancers and actors. They also help to compile good programmes and prepare the amateur concerts. Every unit elects a

Lenin room council of 5-7 members at a general meeting.

Soviet Army men like sports. Sports sections and teams are organised in all regiments and units, and training sessions, competitions and sports festivals are conducted regularly. Volleyball, swimming, football, tennis, chess and other contests are organised between units. Talks are held on the development of physical culture and sport in the country and in the Soviet Army. The men are told that the better their physical fitness the better will they be prepared to overcome all difficulties they may encounter in training, service and combat.

Much of the cultural enlightenment work is carried out by volunteers. Many universities of culture, amateur cinema studios, literary clubs and amateur folk theatres were organised on the initiative of the men themselves. This brings down to every serviceman the ideological wealth of socialist culture, enhances their consciousness and meets their requirements for recreation.

7. The Press

Many newspapers and magazines are published in the Soviet Union. They express the vital interests of the people and are produced with the active participation of the people. As Lenin put it, a newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and populariser, but also a collective organiser.

Soviet military publications are an integral part of the Soviet press, and they are an effective medium of ideological and political education. The Soviet Army publishes, in large printings, the magazines *Military Journal*, *Aviation and Astronautics*, *Soviet Soldier*, *Air Defence*, *Armament and Matériel*, *Propagandist's Notebook*, and others.

The Army Press of the Defence Ministry publishes a great many books.

The official publication of the Defence Ministry is the newspaper *Red Star*, which is addressed mainly to officers. Every Military District, Fleet, army group and large unit publishes its newspaper.

Commanders, political bodies and Party organisations see to it that newspapers and magazines reach the men and that they are used in educational work. A widely employed form of newspaper work is collective readings. Usually they are organised by the unit propagandist. If an article arouses general interest it is discussed. Reading of newspapers by the men is encouraged in all ways. For this units keep files and display the latest issues on stands.

All units and elements issue wall newspapers and "flash sheets". A wall newspaper is issued by an editorial board elected at a meeting of the unit. The editorial board appoints one of its members as editor. Wall newspapers may come out several times a month. A typical wall newspaper will usually carry brief articles and notes about achievements of the unit, its best men, sport and cul-

tural events, etc. The "flash sheets" are issued in connection with the fulfilment of some specific exercises or other event in field conditions or on the march. Many units issue satirical wall newspapers which criticise conceit, thoughtlessness, idleness and slipshod attitudes to duty. This is done with good-natured irony, without offending the dignity of the men. Editorial boards report on their work to general meetings of the personnel.

The political bodies and Party organisations conduct conferences and seminars for wall-newspaper editors and hold exhibitions of wall newspapers for a certain period. At the seminars the exhibited wall newspapers are reviewed, the best are cited and attention is drawn to shortcomings in their contents and make-up.

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The purpose of ideological and educational work in the Soviet Army is to maintain the troops in high combat readiness. Today the importance of combat readiness is great as never before. With modern means of warfare, the role of surprise for achieving the goals of war has increased enormously. In these circumstances the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations must maintain the combat readiness of their armed forces at the highest level.

VIII. PARTY AND POLITICAL WORK IN RAISING MILITARY TRAINING STANDARDS AND STRENGTHENING DISCIPLINE

High military training standards and firm discipline are essential for high combat readiness. Military training includes several elements; the main ones are considered below.

1. Party and Political Work Among the Troops in Mastering Matériel and Weapons

The Soviet Army has all modern types of arms and matériel in its possession. Rockets of all classes, supersonic aircraft, radar stations, fighting machines, instruments and mechanisms of all kinds are based on the very latest achievements of science and technology. They are very complex and it is not easy to learn to use them.

The men learn to handle the weapons and equipment at field exercises and indoor classes, fortified positions and practice ranges, in flights, in machine

yards, etc. The number of technical training lessons and their content is determined by the respective commanders, who are guided by orders of the Defence Minister and special curricula.

Commanders, political workers and Party and youth organisations teach the men to appreciate the matériel and weapons in their hands. During classes the commanders and political workers explain that Soviet arms serve the just cause of defending socialism. Classes are made more effective when reference is made to combat experience and instructive examples are cited from the history of arms and equipment. The men usually show interest in information about the creators of weapons and matériel, the inventors, designers and workers of Soviet industry. The men are also told of the prospects for the development of military equipment.

Members of the Party and the youth league show an example in training. At their meetings they discuss the requirements of the day concerning technical knowledge and the best ways and means of enhancing it. For example, at a Party meeting in one regiment the following decisions were adopted:

1. that Party members should pass their examinations on equipment with excellent or good marks;
2. that a lecture on "The Combat Qualities of Soviet Weapons and the Prospects of Their Development" be delivered for the personnel;

3. that the best experts be instructed to share their study experience with the other men and that the Party committee disseminate this experience in the press and by the local radio;

4. that a socialist emulation drive be organised with the aim of increasing the between-repairs run of machines.

It is considered useful to supplement regular lessons with the dissemination of military-technical knowledge in non-study hours. This work is diversified and includes, among other things, lectures, evenings and conferences devoted to technical problems, the organisation of study circles, etc. For example, Party and youth organisations sponsor circles for studying nuclear physics, electronics and telemechanics. Experienced specialists conduct these circles.

Military technology is popularised at universities of technical culture. Organised mainly for officers at Officers' Houses and supervised by the respective political bodies, they gather 2-4 times a month and work according to programmes which take into account the standards of their membership.

Of considerable value are technical conferences. Commanders and political workers, together with active Party members, select the topic, appoint the date, choose the speakers and help the personnel to prepare for the conference. Topics may vary widely, for example: "Rules of Handling and Preserving Weapons". Exhibitions of literature, visual aids, machine parts and instruments related

to the subject are set up. The basic purpose of such a conference is to exchange experience and acquire new knowledge.

A highly popular activity is technical evenings, which are usually organised in small units. Reports on military technology are given and discussed, and relevant films are shown. Contests may be held in disassembling and assembling weapons of various kinds and in efficiency and speed of manipulating machines and gadgets. At one artillery battery an evening of questions and answers was organised by the youth organisation. Specialists prepared questions on the specifications of weapons, machines and instruments, their design and principles of operation. Charts and drawings were displayed and the evening was held around an artillery piece, with various instruments added. The officer in charge posed the questions for volunteers to answer. The best answers were rewarded with prizes of books, cigarette holders, etc. After the results of the evening were analysed the men who had displayed the best knowledge spoke over the local radio circuit and told how they had mastered their machines.

Of help to the personnel are exhibitions of technical literature and visual aids, meetings with scientists and engineers. Valuable information can be gained from periodicals which regularly popularise the achievements of Soviet military technology and new developments in foreign armies.

To master equipment means not only to study it but also to use it expertly and maintain it in

good repair. Various measures are taken to ensure the correct utilisation and maintenance of military equipment and weapons. Regular technical inspections are conducted and days are set aside for work in machine yards at which the commanders organise and control the fulfilment of the work at hand. The political workers and Party activists popularise the experience of the most diligent men. Information on the progress of work is broadcast by radio and in wall newspapers and the best soldiers are invited to address the men. The propagandists hold talks on political and technical subjects.

Research, rationalisation work and inventions are important means for enhancing the technical knowledge of the personnel, as well as improving the maintenance and use of military equipment. It is supervised by the commander, who, together with the political workers and Party organisations provides conditions for the work of rationalisers and helps them implement their proposals. Efforts are made to build up the rationalisation movement on a mass scale.

For example, at one missile unit some 20 per cent of the men take part in this work. Monthly rationalisation campaigns are held, conferences of innovators and exhibitions of their work are organised. Popular among the personnel is the slogan: "Every Model Soldier and Rated Specialist Should Be an Active Rationaliser". A commission on rationalisation and invention was set up, with councils of rationalisers in the smaller units. A

Rationaliser's Club was organised where active innovators offer technical consultation and the men can read up on questions of interest and carry out their work. Innovators studying the servicing of equipment make suggestions aimed at reducing the time needed to place it in combat readiness. As a result of the work of rationalisers the specifications of some parts and the quality of servicing and maintenance have been improved. The creative initiative of rationalisers is encouraged in all ways.

The socialist emulation movement is an important means for stimulating the men to master the fighting equipment. The basic content of the movement in the army is: achievement of high standards in combat and political training, mastering of related specialities, excellent mastery of fighting equipment and weapons, active participation in invention and rationalisation work, care of military equipment and materials, etc.

Socialist emulation drives are organised between individuals and whole units, stress being laid on individual emulation.

Commanders organise the emulation movement together with the political bodies and Party organisations. They set the tasks for emulation, offer advice concerning the feasibility of pledges and help the men to carry them out. The results of the emulation movement are analysed at meetings and presented in special notices, posters and wall newspapers. The winners in socialist emulation drives are awarded pennants, e.g.: "To the Best Section", "To the Best Crew", etc. If all the

members of a tank crew score excellent results in combat and political training the Good Service badge is drawn on the tank turret. To earn this distinction the crew must also maintain their machine in excellent condition.

The following means of encouragement are employed: entering one's name in the Regimental Book of Honour, award of a gift, promotion, etc. In missile and other units special leaflets are devoted to excellent servicemen. One leaflet with a photograph is presented to the man, another is sent to his family, the rest are distributed in the units.

By order of the Defence Minister, badges for rated specialists have been introduced. Badges of Class 1, 2 or 3 Specialist are awarded together with a certificate. Party and youth organisations and propagandists explain to the men the conditions for receiving the various distinctions orally and in wall newspapers and posters.

A movement has been launched for each serviceman to win three distinguished service badges: 1. A Good Service badge; 2. A rated specialist's badge, and 3. A sportsman's badge.

2. Party and Political Work in Fire Training

Troops must utilise the total fire power of their weapons to speedily destroy targets of all kind and in all conditions. Therefore the standard of fire

training is one of the main indices of combat training in all arms.

The development of new combat means has enhanced the requirements imposed on fire training standards. If nuclear weapons are used units will be arranged in dispersed formation. This raises the importance of fire co-operation and manoeuvre. Fire delivery may be complicated by radioactive or chemical contamination and the men must be able to deliver fire while wearing gasmasks and using other protective gear.

The specific tasks of fire training are tackled in the course of classes and training exercises on the basis of special programmes. How must Party and political work be carried out in these circumstances? The men are told of the importance and purpose of fire training. Stress is laid on its complexities and the difficulties that must be overcome to attain a high degree of skill. A carbine, for example, is not a complex weapon. Yet a skilled rifleman knows that much effort must be put into learning to hit the target with it. For in aiming one should take into account the distance of the target, its motion, the direction of the wind, etc., and in battle time is measured in seconds. The difficulties are much greater for mortar, artillery and missile men. It is useful to popularise the experience of veteran sharpshooters with combat experience. This induces the men to master their weapons to perfection.

One of the best Soviet snipers, V. Zaitsev, killed 245 nazis in the last war. He was awarded the

title of Hero of the Soviet Union. The snipers of his regiment killed thousands of nazi officers and men. There are many such cases, which have been described in books and pamphlets. Propagandists make wide use of such literature to demonstrate the skill of snipers.

Every unit has its excellent marksmen, and their experience should be popularised. It is presented in printed and wall newspapers, and officers refer to it in instructing their men. The best marksmen share their experience at conferences and in talks with their mates. The training targets of the best sharpshooters are displayed prominently. If there are laggards in the units they are given help to bring them up to the level of the foremost.

Socialist emulation yields good results. In fire training especially suitable is the organising of contests for best shooting results, for carrying out nighttime exercises according to daytime standards, for hitting a target with the first shot, etc. The principles of the socialist emulation movement are the same as in technical training.

An effective means of raising fire training standards is the encouragement of shooting for sport. This is promoted by the active participation of officers, Party and youth league members in sports shooting activities. Servicemen take part in Army, national and international shooting contests. Information about their results is used in political talks. Contests are also held within various units and elements.

Firing skill is promoted by shooting displays of the best marksmen. Prizes and certificates are awarded to the winners of shooting contests. Participants who have achieved the highest results are awarded the title of Master of Sports or sports ratings.

Although sports shooting undoubtedly promotes the firing skill of officers and men, the basis of fire training is target practice according to a fixed programme. Party and political work takes into account, firstly, the type of exercise (shooting range practice, field practice, tactical exercises, etc.); and secondly, the time of the practice (daytime, night-time, summer, etc.). In all cases commanders, political workers, Party and youth organisations seek to:

- have the arms and matériel well prepared for the shooting practice;
- ensure the organisation of the exercises;
- explain to the men the conditions of the exercises, their special features and the order in which they should be carried out;
- have Party and youth league members show an example.

Political work may take a variety of forms: talks by propagandists, collective readings of shooting practice manuals, issuing wall newspapers, etc. Necessary instructions are given to the observers, signalmen and watch around the shooting range designed to ensure safety during the shooting practice. Shooting practice is usually carried out in batches, the results of each batch being displayed

in special stands together with appeals to keep abreast of the best. The quality of shooting is generally greatly enhanced when commanders and Party and youth league members set a good example. The following is a typical example. In one unit a private failed to fulfil the exercise. He motivated his failure to hit the target by claiming that his carbine had a heavy trigger pull. He was wrong, however, and this was demonstrated by the Party bureau secretary who happened to be present at the exercise. He took the man's carbine and hit the target square on the mark. After that the man gained confidence in himself and also hit the target.

Nighttime shooting practice is more complicated. The men must handle their weapons by touch and they must determine the distance to and hit targets which are in the dark or lighted only very briefly. The Party and political work is organised accordingly. Less use is made of visual popularisation means, and oral information and talks, mainly individual, are mostly employed.

After the shooting practice is over and the results are summed up, the main objective of Party and political work is to rally the men to consolidate their achievements and eliminate faults. The Party and youth organisations analyse the effectiveness of the political and educational work, the causes of mistakes, etc. Positive experience is popularised by all means of oral, printed and visual propaganda. Simultaneously methods of eliminating shortcomings are explained. Sometimes

general meetings are held in the units at which commanders report on the results of the shooting practice and set new tasks.

3. Party and Political Work in Tactical Training

Tactical training is one of the principal types of combat training in the army. Its purpose is to train the men to act with skill and determination in various combat situations and in solving various combat assignments.

Tactical training is the basis of field training. In the course of tactical training the troops learn to advance rapidly and fight back staunchly, manoeuvre and co-operate effectively and make full use of all types of equipment. Commanders perfect their ability to control their troops in complicated, rapidly changing circumstances. The men's combat fitness and morale are tempered and they master the most efficient ways and means of gaining victory in battle.

These are the tasks to which Party and political work is subordinated in army training in general and tactical training in particular. Tactical training is conducted and its results are consolidated in tactical exercises and drills. Troop exercises represent the highest form of training for combat. The execution of combat training assignments approaches closest to real battle conditions. Every exercise comprises three stages: 1. Preparation; 2. Action; 3. Analysis.

The purpose of Party and political work in the preparatory stage is to help the men gain a clear understanding of the assignments in the contemplated exercise and get ready to carry them out well, and to muster the political morale and a desire to act decisively and in organised fashion.

Commanders and political workers should proceed from the consideration that *man is the decisive force in the battlefield. The outcome of a battle and a war as a whole is decided by men of high morale, wielding machines to perfection.* Therefore, in preparing for troop exercises much attention is given to fostering the essential qualities of fighting morale in the men: courage, valour, heroism, resourcefulness, discipline. All political work is closely linked with the national tasks and interests. The meaning and purpose of Party policies, the greatness of the Soviet people's plans are explained.

In the preparatory stage stress is laid on the demands imposed by army manuals and regulations. To teach the men the ability to gain victory in the teeth of powerful resistance means to teach them as the manuals and regulations prescribe. Any deviation from them can lead to grave consequences. A special chapter of the Drill Regulations is devoted to the rules of boarding machines, the organisation of movement on the march and actions in case of surprise attack. Fulfilment of these requirements during an exercise is a prerequisite for the efficient operation of all units. These items should therefore be studied in advance, and

it is important to explain the relevant requirements of the regulations.

Special attention is paid to questions of nuclear and chemical defence. With the help of the Party organisations, the commanders hold special talks and supplementary classes which enable the men:

- to gain a better knowledge of the capabilities of nuclear-rocket weapons and their tactical and technical specifications;

- to master much better the means and methods of nuclear protection, personnel and matériel decontamination and radiation reconnaissance;

- to overcome a sense of danger and uncertainty in conditions when the enemy resorts to weapons of mass annihilation.

In this stage of preparation additional stress is laid on the popularisation of the military traditions of the Soviet Army. Examples are cited of mass heroism and the great military skill of Soviet soldiers in the Great Patriotic War.

...One air regiment was preparing for an exercise. Along with other political undertakings, veterans told the young officers and men of the regiment's fine fighting traditions. These were numerous, for eight men had been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. During the war the pilots of the regiment carried out 12,000 combat missions, destroying 354 enemy aircraft, much enemy manpower and matériel. For its exploits the regiment was awarded two Orders of the Red Banner.

In another regiment an evening for young

soldiers was organised on the eve of an exercise. The topic was: "Fulfill Your Military Duty". One of the participants in the defence of the Brest Fortress told of the heroic deeds of its defenders, who had held back the nazis for many weeks. Then the film *Immortal Garrison*, about the gallant defence of the fortress, was shown.

Such undertakings have a rallying effect on the personnel. In preparing for an exercise the men are reminded of the importance of the utmost vigilance. Every combatant must be especially vigilant and observant and keep to himself all military information. Exercise conditions demand that special attention be paid to the safeguarding of arms and matériel. In field conditions arms are liable to get clogged with dirt, and if neglected they may fail altogether. Especially impermissible are cases of losing details of arms or equipment.

Party and political work also provides for measures to forestall accidents of all kinds.

Exercises usually involve considerable movements of troops along roads and over terrain with cultivated fields and greenery. The men are reminded that they should take care not to damage state and private property.

Commanders and political workers see to it well in advance that the men be constantly provided with food, fresh newspapers and mail during an exercise. Cultural and medical services are also provided for. As in any undertaking, Party and youth league members must be a model of how to carry out any task and assignment.

The forms of Party and political work in preparing for a military exercise are diversified indeed. They depend on the specific objectives of the exercise and the conditions in which it is to be held. As a rule Party and youth meetings and instructions for propagandists and wall newspaper editors are organised. Lectures and talks are held and films are shown. Additional slogans and posters are displayed prominently, special stands are set up and instructions are written for men of different specialities.

Troops in exercises are placed in more difficult conditions. The possibilities for conducting mass political undertakings diminish and general meetings and lectures, for instance, are practically out of the question. In these circumstances it is best to hold brief political informations and talks, individually or in groups. If circumstances allow, the men must be informed of what the papers have to say and of important radio broadcasts. Bulletins and wall newspapers may also be issued.

Flexibility and efficiency in the forms and methods of political work become of primary importance. Commanders, political workers, active Party and youth league members do everything to ensure that every man knows and carries out his assignments in the best possible way and in all circumstances: on the march, in the offensive and in the defensive, during a nuclear attack alert, etc. Throughout the exercise political workers and Party members should always be present at the most important points, where they can rouse the

men by their own example. When necessary they address brief appeals to the men and offer necessary advice.

Personal example is especially valuable in circumstances which call for resolute action and courage. Some soldiers think that courage can be displayed only in war. This view is easily dispelled, and examples of courage displayed during exercises in one's own or neighbouring units are cited. The press also carries news about the exploits of soldiers in peacetime: one man rescued his commander in an accident, another saved his comrades from unexpected danger, yet another prevented the damage of munitions in a flood, etc. Popularisation of such facts during exercises is of special value. They reveal that there is always place for exploits in life.

During exercises many men perform feats of resourcefulness, initiative and tenacity. They show conscientiousness and skill in carrying out all assignments. Commanders, political workers and propagandists note these men and make their experience known to others.

During exercises regiments and smaller units usually co-operate. Accordingly, in the preparatory stage the tasks to be carried out jointly are explained to the personnel of co-operating units. The idea is driven home that a spirit of military comradeship and mutual help must be maintained above all. This work is continued on an even greater scale during the exercise. If circumstances allow, meetings are organised of representatives

of different arms and military specialities. They exchange information concerning the tactical situation and experience in carrying out their assignments. Frequently letters, leaflets and visual aids are also exchanged. The men are reminded of the rules and signals of co-operation.

During tactical exercises more than in any other type of training it is important to fight against simplification and leniency. Since in conditions when the newest combat means are employed camouflage and digging in are of special importance, they must be carried out in full.

Moments of respite should be used to hold talks, read newspapers and for recreation. The men can listen to music, watch films or sing songs. Often amateur talent groups perform during halts. Good recreation gives the men new strength to carry out their tasks.

When an exercise is over its results are summed up. The commanding officer thoroughly analyses and assesses the actions of the regiments and smaller units. The content and quality of political work is discussed at meetings of political workers and Party and youth organisations secretaries. Party and youth organisations meetings may be devoted to the results. The experience gained and the actions of the best soldiers are popularised. At the same time, typical shortcomings are discussed so as to prevent them from occurring again.

To sum up, of prime importance for combat training are the technical, fire and tactical training of the men. At the same time, of great importance

are special training, marching drill and physical fitness. Party and political work is aimed at the successful solution of all problems of combat training.

4. Party and Political Work for Strengthening Conscious Military Discipline

As Lenin repeatedly stressed, without discipline it is impossible to gain victory in war. This has been confirmed by military practice. In modern warfare the importance of discipline is greater than ever before. In modern warfare weapons of mass destruction may be used and officers and men will be called upon to display tenfold courage, exceptionally high discipline and obedience of command. More than ever before rigorous military discipline is a prerequisite for high combat readiness.

Strict military discipline gives the army a unified will. It makes the troops flexible and mobile. Discipline brings precision and organisation into combat operations, makes it possible to exploit fighting machines to the utmost, and prevents undue losses.

By military discipline is understood the strict and accurate observance by all servicemen of the rules and regulations laid down by the law and service manuals.

The principal feature of Soviet military discipline is that it is by its nature a conscious

discipline. This means that it is based not on fear of punishment or force but on the realisation by each and every serviceman of his military, patriotic and internationalist duty. The basic method of fostering firm discipline is persuasion. Commanders, political workers and Party organisations use persuasion to make every serviceman clearly realise the absolute necessity of firm discipline in the army. With facts in hand they demonstrate that only on the basis of discipline is it possible to maintain the high combat readiness of a unit. And conversely, abeyance of the demands of discipline may lead to grave consequences. If, for example, a member of an air defence team is lax and loses five or six minutes in detecting a target moving with a speed of 2,000 km/h, the enemy will have travelled 150-200 kilometres. If a missile man delays a launching by a few seconds the aircraft may escape.

Persuasion is achieved by the whole system of educational work. This includes political classes, lectures, talks, the press, visual propaganda, etc. For example, positive results are achieved in conducting talks with young soldiers on the subjects: "Serve Your Country as Lenin Bequeathed", "What Discipline Requires of a Soviet Soldier", "A Commander's Order Is Law for His Subordinates", etc.

However, methods of persuasion do not preclude measures of compulsion. Compulsion is aimed primarily against those who are lax in their duties and violate discipline. The Party teaches commanders skilfully to combine methods of

persuasion with methods of compulsion. Experience shows that such a combination yields the best results.

Soviet Army manuals and regulations require a commander to be exacting. Exactingness must be constant and just. Where service matters are concerned it must manifest itself in all things, big or small. But in the Soviet Army exactingness does not imply arrogance or insulting behaviour with respect to one's subordinates. No one is allowed to offend the human dignity of a person of lower rank.

Commanders and political workers teach the officers how to establish correct relations and show pedagogical tactfulness with their subordinates. Such instruction may be carried out individually or at special seminars. Thus, seminars consider such questions as "Principles of Education and Instruction of Soviet Army Men", "Persuasion as the Main Method of Fostering Discipline", etc.

Military discipline is largely achieved by the very organisation of life in the army. That is why it is so important always and everywhere to observe the established routine. Army routine based on service manuals and regulations is distinguished by clarity and expediency. There is nothing superfluous in it. Take, for example, the daily routine. Its essential elements are the reveille, physical exercises, study time, free time, evening roll-call, etc. Carrying out all the provisions of the daily routine fosters in the men obedience, good bearing, neatness and punctuality. Practically every

item of the daily routine offers an opportunity for educational work. Thus, at the evening roll-call the names of heroes entered in the unit's roll in perpetuity are called out and orders of the day are read. On red-letter days the National Anthem is played after the evening roll-call.

The whole process of army training is an important school for cultivating discipline, and marching drill, for example, plays an important part in this. It welds the men together, fosters attentiveness and an ability to respond quickly and precisely to orders. Political activities are designed to inspire the men for conscientious and accurate implementation of all the elements of the daily routine and combat training.

Correct disciplinary action is an important means of maintaining firm discipline. By disciplinary action is meant the application by commanders and senior officers of the encouragements and punishments provided for by service regulations. Encouragements elevate the dignity of the men, inspire them and give them confidence in their abilities. Commanders and political workers see to it that every encouragement be widely publicised so that it might serve as an incentive for all the men. Encouragements are frequently awarded in a solemn atmosphere. Among the many types of encouragement there is, for example, the award of a photograph of a man taken in front of the unfurled regimental colours. In many regiments the photographing takes place in the presence of the whole personnel. The colours are carried out

in accordance with regulations. The personnel are lined up in parade dress. The commander warmly congratulates each awarded man, stressing that photographing in front of the regimental colours is a great honour.

Punishment of those who deserve it also has educational value. In determining the type of punishment a commander takes into account the nature of the offence, the circumstances in which it was committed, the previous record of the offender, etc.

Commanders and political workers regularly analyse the discipline in the unit. They study facts which characterise the behaviour and actions of the men. This is done to define correctly the measures to be taken to strengthen discipline. The army community is a great force in maintaining rigid discipline. Party and youth organisations arouse public opinion against the violators of military discipline. Party and youth league members support the calls for better discipline by their own example in carrying out the orders of their commanders and the requirements of service. They educate the men by means of criticism and self-criticism at meetings, in the press and in individual work. The collective can severely chastise an offender and at the same time help him to make good his misbehaviour.

The enhancement of the training standards and discipline of the personnel is the earnest of permanent combat readiness.

IX. THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTY AND POLITICAL WORK IN COMBAT CONDITIONS

1. The Content and Tasks of Party and Political Work in Combat Conditions

The Soviet Armed Forces are rich in combat experience. In the first years of Soviet government they defeated the combined forces of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution. In 1941, nazi Germany launched its predatory attack. It moved 190 divisions, almost 5,000 aircraft, more than 3,500 tanks and 50,000 artillery pieces and mortars against the Soviet Union. But the invaders found their death under the blows of the Soviet Armed Forces. The victories of the Soviet Army were due to the guiding and organising role of the great Leninist Party and, in particular, to its political work in the troops.

The use of modern means of war makes it possible to deal surprise devastating blows against the enemy to a great depth. Modern combat demands the able utilisation of the combined power

of all types of weapons and exceptional organisation and cohesion. The creation of new types of weapons and the growing technical equipment of troops enhance the role of morale and fighting skill in combat. This means that the role of Party and political work in combat is accordingly greater.

The main purpose of Party and political work in combat is to rally the personnel around the Party and the Government and educate the men in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, devotion to the Oath of Allegiance and personal responsibility for the country's defence. In combat conditions much attention is given to explaining the causes and objectives of the war to the men. Stress is laid on the just nature of Soviet objectives in war. Lenin pointed out that a correct understanding by the masses of the causes and objectives of a war and its just nature enhances their morale and ensures victory.

In their struggle against socialism and democracy the imperialist aggressors refuse to be bound by moral considerations of any kind and pursue a line of preparing for an all-out war of annihilation. Life shows that it is impossible to overcome an enemy without learning to hate him passionately and rallying the greatest determination to defeat him. It is the primary task of political work in combat to foster the men's hatred for the enemy and expose his predatory policies.

Inseparable from this is the need to ensure the greatest vigilance and combat readiness. Every Soviet soldier is by duty bound to prevent enemy

scouts, spies and saboteurs from penetrating into the army and to rigorously safeguard military secrets.

In past wars the slightest relaxation of vigilance and combat readiness have led to the gravest consequences. Today new means of war may be employed and the consequences may be graver still. This enhances the importance of Party and political work aimed at ensuring the utmost vigilance and combat readiness of every man.

Rigid military discipline in combat is more important than ever. Discipline and organisation enable the troops to make the utmost use of matériel and ordnance and prevent undue losses. This is seen in many examples of the Great Patriotic War.

One Soviet Army unit was defending an important height. On orders from their commander, the men built strong shelters. The enemy launched an artillery attack in which more than 3,000 shells were shot at the height. But the shelters withstood the attack and saved the personnel from losses. When the enemy soldiers rose to the assault the Soviet troops hurled them back. The height later played an important part in the Soviet offensive.

Here is another example. In the night of June 24, 1944, a group of Soviet scouts received an assignment to capture a bridgehead on the left bank of the Western Dvina. They forced the river under powerful enemy fire and engaged in an unequal battle which lasted for eight hours. The Soviet men beat back four counter-attacks,

drawing off the main enemy forces. This made it possible for the advancing Soviet forces to effect a successful crossing.

In both cases determined execution of orders and firm discipline were the decisive factors. In conditions of modern warfare the importance of discipline and organisation are greater than ever. That is why in combat so much attention is given to the strengthening of discipline, rallying the men for the quick and precise execution of combat orders and strict observance of service manuals and regulations.

An important aspect of political work in combat is that of fostering confidence in victory, initiative, bravery and heroism in the men. The supreme objective of political propaganda on the battle and home fronts during the last war was to defeat the enemy, and it appealed to the whole Soviet people to spare no effort for victory over the powerful and perfidious enemy. "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" was the slogan of the day.

Soviet soldiers displayed feats of mass heroism in their just struggle. More than seven million officers and men were awarded orders and medals. More than 11,000 were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, of them 104 persons twice. The heroic exploits of Soviet officers and men were widely popularised.

But victory in war demands more than just the enthusiasm and high morale of the troops. It requires high standards of training and fighting

skill. As Lenin pointed out, no matter how devoted people may be to the cause of the revolution, they will be destroyed by the enemy if they are ill-armed, ill-supplied and ill-trained. During the last war Soviet industry produced some 150,000 aircraft, almost 110,000 tanks, 500,000 pieces of ordnance, and other matériel and equipment in great quantities. One of the major tasks of political work therefore was to develop in the men confidence in the power and might of Soviet arms and a desire to master and use them with the utmost perfection. This task has become of even greater importance in our time, when technical means of combat and army equipment are progressing at a high rate.

Of extreme importance in combat is the close co-operation of all arms, services and troops of various specialities. Accordingly, political work must include explanation of the general and specific objectives of the co-operating troops and education of the personnel in a spirit of combat solidarity and mutual help.

An important objective of political work in combat is to help ensure the unbroken supply of everything needed to sustain the troops and carry on the battle, especially munitions, fuel and food, and to cater for the men's cultural, material and recreational needs.

Of special concern to political bodies and commanders in combat is the strengthening of Party organisations. As the experience of the Great Patriotic War shows, army Party organisations derive their strength primarily from the admission

of new members and candidate members. In spite of losses in battle, Party membership steadily grew. By the end of 1941, there were 1.3 million members and candidate members in the army, more than 2 million in 1942, 2.7 million in 1944, and more than 3.3 million by the end of the war, that is, 60 per cent of the total Party membership.

Under the Party Rules, applicants for Party membership should submit recommendations from three members of the C.P.S.U. who have a Party standing of not less than three years and who know the applicants from having worked with them for not less than one year. Combat conditions, however, provided opportunities to determine the qualities of people much faster. That is why on August 19, 1941, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. passed an important resolution which allowed servicemen who had distinguished themselves in combat to be admitted to the Party with recommendations from Party members of one year standing and knowing the applicants for less than a year. On December 9, 1941, the Central Committee passed another important decision which allowed servicemen who had distinguished themselves in combat to be admitted to the Party after a three-month probationary period as candidate member (instead of the one-year period stipulated by the Rules). These measures served to strengthen the Party organisations and had a favourable effect on morale.

The youth organisation also expanded, and by the end of the war every company had 7-10

members and candidate members of the Party and 10-15 members of the youth organisation.

An important aspect of Party and political work in combat conditions is the commissioning of reinforcements, organisation of timely medical aid, strengthening contacts with workers on the home front, etc. In determining the specific contents, forms and methods of Party and political work, the nature of combat objectives, general situation, time and place are taken into account.

2. Party and Political Work in Offensive Operations

The purpose of Party and political work in offensive operations is to rouse the enthusiasm of the officers and men and imbue them with a firm resolve to rout the enemy.

Another important task is to ensure suddenness and the flawless work of weapons and equipment. Work is stepped up to explain the objectives of the war and the special features of the situation. Ideas and facts aimed at strengthening the men's patriotic feelings are popularised. Measures of logistical support of all kind, especially relating to nuclear and chemical defence, are organised.

In the preparatory stage of an offensive this work is carried out without disclosing the details of the forthcoming mission, which are revealed to the personnel only immediately before the engagement.

Different forms and means of political work are employed in preparing the personnel for an offensive, depending on the situation. Thus, in the Great Patriotic War meetings were frequently held. For example, in 1943, a meeting was held in one regiment preparing for an offensive. The first to speak was private Shilov, who said, addressing himself to the men: "You see devastated towns and villages, you have spoken to orphans whom the enemy has deprived of parents, you have seen the tears of mothers whose children became the victims of the Hitlerites. The same is happening wherever the fascist killers set foot. My native village, where my family lives, is still far away from here.... Also languishing under German oppression are the parents of Sergeant Golubev, the wife and child of private Yevstratov and the sisters of machine-gunner Kharitonov. There is only one way to liberate our families, and that is in battle. I am ready for it and I will destroy the fascist monsters without mercy!"

After Shilov other men took the floor. They all pledged to fight the enemy without sparing their own blood. The meeting ended with the adoption of a pledge to bring vengeance to bear on the nazi killers for the sacrifices and the sufferings of Soviet people.

Such meetings served to sharpen hatred for the enemy and harden the men's resolve to go into battle with a will to win.

Other measures were also adopted to foster hatred for the enemy. The criminal plans and evil

deeds of the nazis were exposed in talks and in the press. In many regiments the men recorded all known cases of nazi atrocities, plunder and cruelty in special books. These books were passed on from man to man, and every man entered the facts known to him, pledging revenge for them.

In preparing for an offensive popularisation of military knowledge and fighting experience is stepped up and the requirements of service manuals and regulations in offensive battle are explained. In modern warfare it is especially important to explain the effects of nuclear weapons, methods of nuclear defence and rules of personnel, weapons and matériel decontamination. The men are given necessary information about the enemy, the nature of his defences, his armaments and tactics. Of great use are talks by veteran soldiers about their experiences in offensive battles.

In preparing for an offensive the following forms of political work are also employed:

- reading aloud of newspapers, magazines and leaflets and display of visual propaganda means relevant to the forthcoming engagement;
- meetings between representatives of different arms in preparation for joint action;
- reading and discussion of letters arriving from factories and collective farms, civilian Party and youth organisations, etc.

All this work is organised by commanders and political workers with the help of the Party and

youth organisations. The necessary reserves are created for replacing casualties among Party and youth organisation leaders. Party and youth league members take an active part in bolstering morale and in popularising military knowledge and combat experience. Squad and crew propagandists are chosen and instructed.

In the last hours before the offensive attention of all command echelons is concentrated on preparing and organising the attack. The readiness of personnel, weapons and equipment for delivering a bold, concerted blow against the front line of the enemy's defence is carefully checked.

In the course of an offensive the possibilities for employing some forms of Party and political work are restricted, but the work must nevertheless continue. Of decisive importance is the personal example and appeal of Party members and propagandists. Accordingly, they should be ready to be the first to rise for the attack, cry out a slogan, give comradely help to a raw recruit, etc.

As the troops invade the enemy defences in depth, the situation may change drastically. The enemy usually strives to hold his intermediate lines or, conversely, to fall back rapidly and disengage from the advancing troops so as to organise a counter-attack. The danger of enemy harassment and attacks from the flanks, and even the rear, increases. As the experience of the last war shows, a retreating enemy leaves roads and buildings mined, poisons wells and foodstuffs, etc. A fast offensive and the effort of overcoming

atomic strike areas and fire resistance may wear out the men.

Taking into account the changing situation in battle, commanders and political workers keep the men informed of the situation and new combat assignments and popularise the successful actions of their own and neighbouring units. In combat it is important continuously to maintain the men's vigilance, energy and enthusiasm. This is achieved by the personal courage, bravery and rousing word of commanders, political workers and Party members.

Lulls in operations are used to strengthen Party and youth organisations. During the last war applications for Party membership were examined during lulls. Many applications contained words like, "I want to go into battle as a member of the Party", "If I am killed, please consider me a Party member", etc. Members of the youth organisation were the first to join the Party. In the war some two million of them became Party members, and at the same time 5,187,000 young people joined the youth organisation ranks.

During an offensive the political workers keep on paying unabated attention to ensuring a steady supply of munitions, fuel and food and adequate medical care. A census of personnel, arms and matériel is carried out as soon as the engagement ends. Measures are taken to put fighting equipment in order and replace lost or damaged items. Commanders and political workers tell the men of the results of the fighting and popularise the

experience of the bravest officers and men. Those who have distinguished themselves most in battle are cited for government awards.

3. Party and Political Work In Defensive Operations

The purpose of Party and political work in defensive operations is to strengthen the resistance and fortitude of the personnel and prepare them for counter-attacks and going over to the offensive. Commanders, political workers and propagandists explain the combat mission and the importance of the lines to be held. If circumstances allow, brief Party and youth meetings are held in units going over to the defensive at which the tasks of Party and youth league members in ensuring the stability of the defence are discussed. Of decisive importance in this period is the realisation by every man that a commander's order is the country's order. The immutable law of defence is: not a step back without orders.

In the last war the enemy took great pains to undermine the morale of our troops whenever they were forced to go over to the defensive. He tried to sow panic among the defenders by spreading false rumours. Commanders, political workers and Party activists exposed and refuted the enemy concoctions. They truthfully described the situation at the front and in the country. Every opportunity was used to pass on to the men Soviet Information

Bureau communiques concerning successful actions of Soviet troops on other fronts or sectors of a given front. Enemy leaflets were immediately collected and destroyed and his radio broadcasts were suppressed by fire or jammed.

In a new war one can expect still greater subversive activities on the part of the enemy. It is necessary to counter enemy propaganda with active propaganda and popularisation aimed at imbuing the men with confidence in their strength. The experience of the Great Patriotic War is of use in this work.

An important aspect of defensive operations is the organisation of security and observation, preparation of arms for action, fortification and camouflage work. In modern warfare the volume of defence works is much greater than before due to the possibility of weapons of mass annihilation being used. In the course of defence works commanders and political workers keep in contact with the rank and file, addressing patriotic appeals to them and reminding them of the great national effort on the home front. They explain that correct equipment of the defence lines multiplies the troops' strength and preserves life. An important task of commanders and political workers on the defensive is to step up fighting activity, destroy enemy manpower and matériel and repel attacks. The experience of the last war shows that active defence wears down the enemy and ties up his forces, dooming him to failure. For example, during the gallant defence of Stalingrad in the

autumn of 1942, one German officer wrote home: "We have only one kilometre to go to reach the Volga, but we are fighting for it longer than the whole war with France lasted." A nazi newspaper wrote at the time: "For the first time in history a city is being held until the last wall falls. . . . In spite of our superiority in numbers our offensive has yielded no result."

Information about enemy losses and Soviet officers and men who had distinguished themselves in combat was rapidly conveyed to the troops. Experience shows that fighting activity in defence can also be raised by encouraging snipers, frequent sallies, reconnaissance in force, and struggle for initiative and fire supremacy on the battlefield. In the last war some Soviet units were cut off from their neighbours or were surrounded by the enemy. Party and political work in those conditions was aimed at maintaining the fighting spirit and stamina of the men and preventing a feeling of despondency and doom from overcoming them. This was achieved by the resolute enforcement of iron discipline and explanation of the great importance of comradely mutual help. In their talks with the men, commanders, political workers and propagandists spoke of devotion to one's military duty and were themselves an example of this. They told the men of help coming to surrounded troops and called on them to be thrifty with munitions and matériel.

To ensure the stubbornness of defence it is especially important to nip in the bud the slightest

manifestations of panic or cowardice. Panic in combat is extremely dangerous. If weapons of mass annihilation are used it can be especially detrimental. Lenin wrote that "the most dangerous thing in a retreat is panic.... When an army is retreating discipline must be a hundredfold more rigid than in the offensive, for in the offensive the men are straining forward. If they start straining backward, this spells ruin—inevitable and immediate." Commanders and political workers usually know the men who may crack under the stresses of battle. Reliable veterans are stationed next to such men. Individual educational work must be conducted with insufficiently firm soldiers before the battle begins.

The most flexible forms of political work are employed in the defensive. Thus, in the last war, besides talks, handwritten "flash leaflets" were widely used. They were passed on from man to man along the battle formation. These leaflets described the engagements and mentioned the men who had distinguished themselves. The command would also issue short letters citing such men and announcing awards to the best.

In defensive battles, as in the offensive, Soviet soldiers performed unparalleled feats of valour and mass heroism. For example, in the battle of Moscow in November 1941, one Soviet division held back four nazi divisions for seven days. On November 16, 28 heroes of this division under the command of Klochkov-Diyev, a political worker, beat back attacks launched by 50 enemy

tanks. Soviet soldiers on other fronts fought with the same courage. The gallant defence of Stalingrad continued for 125 days. Fighting took place for every block and every building. One Soviet division repelled 117 enemy assaults in one month, another repelled 12-15 assaults every day. In the battle of Stalingrad the enemy lost some 650,000 officers and men, more than 2,000 aircraft and large quantities of other matériel. Failing in their objective, the nazis were forced to halt their offensive.

The experience of Party and political work in combat conditions is of great value for the education and instruction of Soviet servicemen. On the basis of a creative analysis of this experience, and taking into account the progress of military science, Soviet officers are ensuring the high combat readiness of all units and elements of the army.

X. THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY CONTACTS BETWEEN SOVIET ARMY UNITS AND CIVILIAN ORGANISATIONS AND WORKERS' COLLECTIVES

The Soviet Army is inseparably linked with the people. As Lenin wrote back in 1919: "The Soviet organisation has made possible the creation of armed forces of workers and peasants which are much more closely connected with the working and exploited people than before."*

In all past wars against imperialist aggressors the Soviet Union achieved its victories by the joint effort of the army and the people. This is demonstrated convincingly by the example of the Great Patriotic War. Workers on the home front ensured a steady supply of everything needed for the battle front. From the beginning of the war hundreds of thousands of people volunteered to the front and the people's volunteer corps. In Moscow and Moscow Region alone 310,000 applications to the people's volunteer corps were received in the first three days of the war. Twelve divisions of Moscow volunteers were formed. In Leningrad, a volunteer army 150,000 strong was

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 29, p. 88.

formed in the very first days of the war. At the same time destroyer battalions were formed in all parts of the country, their purpose being to render harmless enemy paratroopers and saboteurs and to defend the approaches to important installations.

An expression of the unity of the army and the people in the war was the mass scale of the partisan movement. Thousands of partisan groups were active in the occupied regions and they effectively raided the enemy rear. In Byelorussia alone there were 1,108 partisan contingents with more than 370,000 fighters in them.

The people voluntarily contributed 100,000 million rubles from their savings to the defence effort, paying the cost of many tanks, aircraft and other weapons.

People sent countless letters to the front. A letter signed by 2.5 million Uzbek workers and farmers said: "Front line, harken! We pledge to give all our strength, we are ready to undertake any sacrifices in the name of our country, in the name of victory over the enemy."

Thus the joint efforts of the army and the people brought victory. Today every Soviet Army man constantly feels the pulse of the country. His hopes and aspirations are at one with all Soviet people. The Party educates Soviet people in a spirit of readiness to defend the country, in a spirit of love for their army.

The Party enhances the firm unity of the Soviet Army and the people in many ways. First of all, there are the links through Party bodies. The Party

Rules state: "The Party organisations and political bodies of the Soviet Army maintain close contact with local Party committees, and keep them informed about all political work in the military units. The secretaries of army Party organisations and chiefs of political bodies participate in the work of local Party committees." Thousands of commanders, political workers, Party committee secretaries and other army Communists are elected to the leading bodies of civilian Party organisations.

Reciprocally, representatives of civilian Party bodies are members of Military Councils. For example, all the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Union Republican Communist Parties and territory Party committees and many first secretaries of regional Party committees are members of the Military Councils of Military Districts and Fleets.

Close links between the army and the people are also established through Soviet government bodies. Thus, 55 members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and 136 members of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics are representatives of the armed forces. Thousands of servicemen are elected to regional, city and other local government bodies.

Civilian Party and government bodies discuss and implement various civil defence measures together with army commanders and Party and political bodies. They take steps to improve the work of public defence organisations and the

political education of servicemen and the local population.

The political agencies and Party organisations of the army help local Party bodies to carry out propaganda and popularisation work among the people. Army Communists frequently deliver lectures on the Party Programme, Party decisions, the glorious path of the Soviet Army and current world affairs at enterprises and educational establishments. At the same time, Party and local government workers frequently address meetings of servicemen. It is customary for servicemen to meet with participants of Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., foremost industrial and farm workers and representatives of culture and science.

Army activists give considerable aid to voluntary defence societies. Experienced army men conduct technical, shooting and other circles and participate in the military training of registrants for conscription. They have helped to train thousands of drivers, radio and telegraph operators and other specialists.

Close contacts exist between civilian and army periodicals. Army newspapers and journals inform army personnel of the life and labour achievements of the country, while the national and local Party press write about the foremost servicemen and the achievements of the armed forces in strengthening the nation's defences. For example, the army newspaper *Leninskoye Znamya* produced a special issue with the help of

newspapers of the regions through which the 11th Army had passed during the Civil War. The newspaper acquainted the officers and men with life in the Caucasus and the lower Volga country today, thereby demonstrating what the heroes of the past years had sought for and promoting the patriotic education of Soviet Army men.

Contacts between the army and the people are further enhanced by the practice of patronage of enterprises and research establishments over military units and patronage of military units over schools and children's homes. There are many examples of friendship bonds between a battalion and a factory shop, a company and a team, etc. They send representatives to Party and youth meetings, exchange wall newspapers and help one another with words and deeds.

Lenin rooms in army units display photographs of foremost workers and engineers of neighbouring factories, and at the factories photographs of foremost servicemen are displayed. This brings the army and factory collectives closer together and strengthens their friendship.

Worthy of note are such links as correspondence between servicemen and workers, participation of army units in gathering the harvest, building roads, repairing farm machines, and greenery planting in towns and communities. For example, in 1961, in only five Military Districts, 871 servicemen were awarded the Virgin Land Development Medal, 3,054 were awarded citations, and 6,915 were awarded other encouragements

for the help they gave in agricultural work.

Army collectives also maintain close ties with schools and children's establishments, helping them to bring up the younger generations. The youth organisations of army units display much initiative in this work. Their members participate in the work of school Young Pioneer organisations, conduct amateur radio and art circles, tell the schoolchildren about army machines, help them to conduct sports activities, etc.

For example, a Young Pioneer detachment at a school in the Urals is named after the Soviet Army. Many celebrated commanders are honorary members of the detachment. They carry on a correspondence with the schoolchildren and visit them. Frequent guests of the Young Pioneers are soldiers from a neighbouring unit. The children have come to love the army uniform, they read books about army life with great interest. Many of them dream of becoming missile men, tankmen or airmen. There are many more such examples.

Patronage in the cultural field has also acquired considerable scope. Workers of science, art and literature deliver lectures at army units, offer advice on questions of interest to the men and tell them of their plans, take part in the work of universities of culture, help organise film festivals and topical evenings and help army writers, musicians and artists in their work. Every theatre, circus and variety company and every philharmonic society makes a point of giving at least eight patronage performances a year. At the same

time, Officers' Houses are open to civilian workers. Army ensembles and amateur art companies perform in clubs, Palaces of Culture and theatres.

The Soviet Army has countless ties with the people. This enriches our people with new knowledge and ideas and fosters patriotic feelings in the youth. The unity of the army and the people is one of the principal sources of the might of the Soviet Armed Forces.

* * *

The Soviet Army has gained rich experience in armed struggle for the defence of the freedom and independence of the country. An inalienable part of this experience is the experience of Party and political work in combat conditions. The Party, however, teaches us not to rely on past experience alone. Soviet Army personnel take a creative approach to past experience and solve new important tasks in the education and instruction of troops that have been advanced by the revolution in modern means of warfare. The guiding principle of Party and political work in the Soviet Army is to teach the officers and men everything that the present situation may demand.

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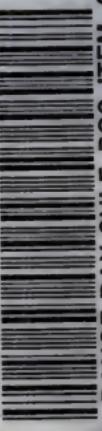
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И. Буцкий

ИЗ ОПЫТА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ РАБОТЫ
В СОВЕТСКОЙ АРМИИ

На английском языке